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PLEASE DELIVER TO BREMERYRODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY.

MAY 18, 1974

HENRY A. KISSINGER

State Dept. review completed

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FOLLOWING IS THE PROPOSED TALKING PAPER FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH LUNS. HOULD APPRECIATE YOUR CONCURRENCE OR MEETING WITH EURS. HOULD AND ALL AND A

I. Pukpoše

THIS MEETING WILL PERMIT YOU TO REAFFIRM TO LUNS THE IMPORTANCE THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AS THE CORNERSTONE OF WESTERN STRENGTH AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.

SINCE YOUR LAST MEETING WITH THE NATO SECRETARY GENERAL AT SAN CLEMENTE IN JUNE 1973 LISTEUROPEAN RELATIONS HAVE BEEN INFLUEN-CED BY THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE DRAFTING OF THE US-FC AND WATE DECLARATIONS ... LUNS IS A FORGEFUL BROPONENT DE ATLANTIC COOPERATION AND IN THE AND ENE-HALF YEARS AS SECRETARY GENERAL HAS CHAIRED ALLIED COUNCILS WITH A FIRMHAND. NEVERTHELESS, HE IS CONCERNED LEST OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, MBFR, PROBLEMS IN US-EC NINE RELATIONS, ECONOMIC AND OTHER PRESSURES ON EUROPEIS NEW GENE-PATION OF LEADERS, AND SENTIMENT IN THE US FAVORING TROOP REDUCTIONS ERODE THE NATO PARTNERSHIP.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

YOUR PURPOSE IN THIS MEETING WILL BE TO:

SCOWCROFT, MCFRALANE

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TO THE UNITED STATES!

- -- STRESS THE NEED FOR MEANINGFUL AND CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS AS PART OF THE ALLIANCE PROCESS:
- -- COMMEND LUNS ON THE EXCELLENT LEADERSHIP HE CONTINUES TO BRING TO NATO COUNCILS:
- -- ENCOURAGE THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP REPUTED TO PRODUCE A NATO DECLARATION CONTAINING A STRING STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.
- 11. MACKERDUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN
- A. BACKGROUND: LUNS HAS COME TO THE UNITED STATES TO RECEIVE AN HONORARY DEGREE FROM HOPE COLLEGE IN HOLLAND, MICHIGAN ON MAY 24. WHILE IN WASHINGTON, HE HAS DISCUSSIONS SCIEDULED WITH ME AND SECRETARY SCHLESINGER. HE ATTACHES THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO HIS MEETING WITH YOU FOR THE REVIEW IT WILL PERMIT OF ALLIANCE AND EAST-WEST ISSUES OF CORRENT IMPORTANCE.

OUR EFFORT TO REINVIGORATE ATLANTIC TIES REMAINS CENTERED ON COMPLETING A NATO DECLARATION. THE NEW TEXT WHICH THE BRITISH CIRCULATED IN NATO MAY 15, AFTER GENERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH US, IS A GOOD STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ATLANTIC CARTINGRSHIP. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO ENCOURAGE LUNS! (EADER-SHIP) IN ACHIEVING A DECLARATION REFLECTING THE NEED FOR ENHANCED CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE ALLIES. FRENCH SENSITIVITIES SHOULD NOT STAND IN THE MAY OF EFFORTS BY OTHER ALLIES TO IMPROVE THE USEFULNESS OF THE ALLIANCE CONSULTATION PROCESS.

LUMS MAY ASK YOUR VIEWS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING A WESTERN SUMMIT IN BRUSSELS, PERHAPS IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO YOUR MOSCOW VISIT, AND LI WILL BE IMPORTANT TO NOTE THE NEED FIRST TO PRODUCE A DECLARATION WITH MEANINGFUL SUBSTANCE IN TIME FOR THE JUNE 18-19 MINISTERIAL MEETING IN OTTAMA.

LUNS IS WELL AMARE DE YOUR POSITION ON MAINTAINING THE US TROOP COMMITMENT TO EUROPE AND OF THE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS INVOLVED. HE HAS BEEN A STAUNCH SUPPORTER OF BURDENSHARING AND OUR EFFORT TO PREVENT FORCE REDUCTIONS PURSUANT TO THE JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT. THE LATTER PROBLEM IS CLOSE TO RESOLUTION, AT LEAST FOR EISCAL YEAR 1974, THANKS TO THE US-FRG OFFSET AGREEMENT AND TO ANTICIPATED MILITARY DIR-CHASES IN THE US BY THE OTHER ALLIES. IMPROVEMENTS IN EURO-

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PEAN FORCES ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF BURDENSHARING! WE EXPECT THE ALLIES TO DO WORE IN THIS AREA.

DNIEAST-WEST NEGHTIATIONS, LUNS! PRIME CONCERN IS THAT THE ALLIANCE PLAY AN ACTIVE COORDINATING ROLE, PARTICULARLY PWITHERESPECTS TO BOTH CSCE BAND MBFR. EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN FORCE REDUCTIONS REMAINS A PRIME SOVIET GOAL IN MARR, AND SOME MEANS OF ASSURING MOSCOW THAT SUCH REDUCTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE WILL BE A KEY FACTOR IN PERSUADING THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT US+SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN A FIRST STAGE. DUR APRIL 30 PROPOSAL THAT THE ALLIES CONSULT IN NATOON THE ELEMENTS DE AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME OF STAGE II OF CSCE -- AFTER WHICH DECISIONS COULD BE MADE ON THE TIMING AND LEVEL OF THE HELSINKI FINALE -- IS AN EARNEST EXPRESSION OF THE DESIRE DE THE US TO KEEP THE ALLIANCE AT THE CENTER OF DETENTE EFFORTS.

LEWS WILL OF COURSE, WELCOME YOUR VIEWS ON YOUR FORTH-COMING SUMMIT TALKS IN MOSCOW.

- PARTICIPANTS! SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS, AMBASSADUR RUMSFELD, AND HENRY A. KISSINGER.
- PRESS PLAN: THE MEETING WILL HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED, AND THERE WILL BE A PRESS PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. (AT MID-DAY ON MAY 21). LUNS WILL HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE WITH THE OVERSEAS WRITERS CHUS. ON THURSDAY, MAY 23, HE WILL HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE PAT THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS IN CHICAGO. ON THESE DCCASIONS, HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO REFER TO HIS MEETING WITH

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TALKING POINTS NATO AND THE NATO DECLARATION

- THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE REMAINS THE CORVERSTONE OF U.S. FOREIGN POURCY.
- 2. AT THE SAME TIME, I STRONGLY SUPPORT FUROPEAN UNITY IN WHICH BURDPE WORKS CONFIDENTLY AND COOPERATIVELY WITH THE US DIRECTLY AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.
- B. I HAVE, AS YOU KNOW, BEEN DISAPPOINTED AT THE RESPONSE DE EUROPEAN ALLIES OVER THE PAST YEAR TO OUR PROPOSAL FOR REDEFINING THE BASIS OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION. A TRANSPORT OF THE
- 4. 1 FAVOR MOVING AHRAD TO COMPLETE: A NATO DECLARATION FOR CONSIDERATION BY MINISTERS AT THE OTTAWA MEETING JUNE 18-19. HOMEVER, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE DECLARATION CONTAIN A CLEAR REAFFIRMATION OF THE NEED FOR FULL AND TIMELY CONSUL-TATION.
- 5. I RECOGNIZE THAT THE DOLLGATION TO CONSULT IS RECIPROCAL. AND WE HAVE WELCOMED YOUR SUPPORT FOR DUR PROPOSALS TO BROADEN AND STRENGTHEN THE PROCESS OF NATO CONSULTATIONS.
- 6. WE DO NOT RULE OUT EVENTUAL COMPLETION OF A US-EC DECLARATION, IF THE NINE SO DESIRE, BUT FOR NOW A NATU. TEXT OFFERS MORE PROSPECTS OF EARLY AGREEMENT. THE LAST TEXT OF THE US-EC DRAFT CONVEYED TO US BY THE EC MEMBERS WHULD MEED CONSIDERABLE REDRAFTING, PARTICULARLY ON THE ISSUE DE PRIOR CONSULTATION, TO MAKE IT ACCEPTABLE TO US.

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U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE

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- THE FULLY INTENDATO MAINTAIN U.S. TROOP STRENGTH IN EUROPE, IN THE ABSENCE OF RECIPROCAL REDUCTIONS. ODM STIC U.S. SUPPORT FOR OUR TROOP COMMITMENT WILL CONTINUE TO BE * AFFECTED BY THE ALLIED WILLINGNESS TO MORE EQUITABLY SHARE THE BURDEN.
 - THE US-FRG OFFSET AGREEMENT, TOGETHER WITH LIKELY MILITARY PURCHASES IN THE U.S. BY THE OTHER ALLIES, SHOULD ENABLE US TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS OF THE JACKSON-NUMN AMENDMENT.

. . . CONTINUING EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO IMPROVE CONVENTIONAL FORCES WILL BE "NECESSARY TO SUSTAIN THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT OVER THE LUNGER TERMS

CSCE AND MBFRE

- I AM PLEASED WITH THE HIGH DEGREE OF ALLIED COHESION TO DATE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON MOFR AND CSCE AND RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE DE CLOSE CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE ALLTES TO HARMONIZE APPROACHES TO BOTH ISSUES.
- 2. ON ESCEN GEVEN THE MANY USSUES YET TO BE RESOLVED. HE DO. NOT BELIEVE THE GENEVA STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS CAN CONCLUDE. BEFORE THE END OF JUNE, AT THE EARLIEST.
- A NE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD RESERVE FINAL JUDGMENT ON THE LEVELLOF A THIRD STAGE CSCE MEETING PENDING A CLEAR INDICATION DESTRE GENEVA RESULTS A BUT RELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER WHAT RESULTS NOULD WARRANT A SUMMIT GATHERING:
- 4. ON MBFR. WE FAVOR A STEADY DEVELOPMENT OF THE AULIES! PRINTEDNIALING CINES AT PRESENT UNDER DISCUSSION IN NATO, ACONTANUING TO SEEK SOVIET AGREEMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN A PIRST PHASE AS A STEP TOWARD A COMMON CELLING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER.

SOVIET SUMMIT

- I. PHANSSPORSHY MEETINGS WITH GENERALS SECRETARY BREZHNEVAIN MOSCOW YOWARD THE END OF JUNE ARE PROCEEDING.
- 2. I VIEW THE TALKS AS AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS ON US-USSR RELATIONS -- THIS REDUCES THE CHANCES OF MISCALCULATIONS AND STRENGTHENS THE CHANGES FOR GREATER STABILITY.
- 3. CLEARLY, SALT POSES THE MOST DIFFICULT QUESTION TO BE DEALT

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WITH --- WE ARE MOVING SLOWLY IN THE DIRECTION OF AN EXTENSION DE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT PLUS AN AGREEMENT DN MIRVS.

ASSENTHE PAST WE HILL CONTINUE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIANCE ON THE PROSPECTS WE SEE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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